

It is my hope that we can move ahead on this matter in a true bipartisan fashion and carefully consider a consensus. But let me emphasize, Mr. President, unreasoned haste can clearly make matters worse on this measure, which is of great import and great magnitude. Mr. President, we should work together.

I yield the floor.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent the unanimous-consent order be extended until 1:15.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. I thank the Senator from Nebraska not only for the generosity of his remarks, the clarity of his concern, the depth of his concern, but to connect his opening remarks to the closing remarks.

I do not think the Senator will receive many letters from welfare recipients. I do not think many of those children will be writing postcards. No one, certainly, will be paying them.

That, Mr. President, is the nub of the issue. We are talking of people who have but little voice in this land and less real influence in the end. We are seeing it all about us now.

Mr. President, the Census Bureau has just released the "Population Profile of the United States: 1995" which reports that "26 percent of children born in 1994 were out-of-wedlock births."

However, according to the National Center for Health Statistics figures which I have frequently cited, the illegitimacy ratio was 30.1 percent in 1992, and I estimate that it will have reached 32 percent in 1994.

According to Martin O'Connell, Chief of the Fertility Statistics Branch of the Census Bureau, "The higher figures are correct. The 'Population Profile' seriously undercounts the number of children born out of wedlock as the figures it reports are based on a small sample and incomplete information. Senator MOYNIHAN is right."

This is one area where precision of fact is imperative. In order to understand a problem, we must first be able to accurately measure it, and few problems are of such enormous consequence as this unrelenting rise in illegitimacy.

RECESS UNTIL 2:15

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will now stand in recess until the hour of 2:15 p.m.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 1:12 p.m., recessed until 2:15 p.m.; whereupon, the Senate reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer [Mr. COATS].

THE FAMILY SELF-SUFFICIENCY ACT

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alabama is recognized.

Mr. SHELBY. Mr. President, no one disagrees that the current welfare sys-

tem is in shambles. Since the beginning of President Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty, government, at all levels, has spent more than \$5.4 trillion on welfare programs in America. To understand the magnitude of \$5.4 trillion, consider what could be bought for it.

For \$5.4 trillion, one could purchase every factory, all the manufacturing equipment, and every office building in the United States. With the leftover funds, one could go on to buy every airline, every railroad, every trucking firm, the entire commercial maritime fleet, every telephone, television, and radio company, every power company, every hotel, and every retail and wholesale store in the entire Nation.

While many Americans may not know the exact dollar amount of the War on Poverty, there is a public understanding that more and more taxdollars are coming to Washington and being funnelled into programs that are having little effect. Despite a \$5.4 trillion transfer of resources, the poverty rate has actually increased over the past 28 years. During this same period, the out of wedlock birthrate skyrocketed from 7 to 32 percent, and currently one in seven children in America is raised on welfare. Moreover, this massive spending has done nothing to alleviate drug use, child abuse or violent crime—all of which have sharply increased during this period. In short, our current welfare system has failed miserably. It has exacerbated the very problems it was created to solve, and it should be dramatically overhauled now.

The first priority of reform should be to change the incentives in the current system which undermine the traditional family structure. Today, the Government pays individuals, including teenagers, up to \$15,000 per year in cash and in-kind benefits on the condition that they have a child out of wedlock, do not work and do not marry an employed male. That is a cruel system, since we know that work and marriage are two of the most promising avenues out of poverty. We should not be surprised that years after this policy was instituted, the out of wedlock birthrate has reached 80 percent in many low-income communities. That means that 8 out of 10 children born in many neighborhoods in America do not know what it means to have a father. The results of this condition are devastating, not only to the children, but to the parents, and to society as a whole.

I believe the time has come that Congress should end the practice of mailing checks to teenagers who have children out of wedlock. Teenagers themselves are still children, and to simply mail them a check and forget about them is a cruel form of so-called assistance. I know of no private charity which assists people in this manner. We should continue to provide for these young mothers and their children, through adoption assistance, vouchers for child care supplies, food and nutri-

tion assistance, and health care assistance. But, this Nation should no longer dole out cash to unwed teenage recipients. Several amendments will be offered during the course of the debate on welfare reform to accomplish this, and I intend to support them.

The second priority of reform is to reestablish the value of work into our welfare system. No civilization can successfully sustain itself over a long period of time by paying a large segment of its population to remain idle. The current system discourages work, because nothing is required from those who receive assistance, and in many instances, welfare pays better than a normal job. I support the efforts of the chairman of the Finance Committee to change that by requiring welfare recipients to work in exchange for their benefits. Under this legislation, welfare will no longer be free. Taxpayers have to work hard everyday, and those receiving public assistance should do the same.

Finally, true welfare reform means saving money. In the past, welfare reform has meant digging a little deeper into the taxpayers' pockets for more money to transfer into ineffective Federal programs. Federal, State, and local governments spent \$324 billion on more than 80 different welfare programs in 1993—that is an average of \$3,357 from each household that paid Federal income tax in 1993. We must reject the idea that somehow, \$324 billion is not enough. Real welfare reform should result in fewer people needing welfare and generate savings to be returned to the taxpayers. The Work Opportunity Act will save more than \$60 billion over the next 5 years by returning control over welfare programs to State and local officials with a fixed dollar amount from Washington. This will give State and local officials the ability to improve their services to poor people without waiting on the dilatory approval of Washington bureaucrats.

The American people have demanded welfare reform not because they are stingy or spiteful toward the poor and needy. Rather, they have demanded reform because they have seen a system which has destroyed the hope and dreams of millions of Americans by trapping them in cycles of dependency and encouraging self-defeating behavior. Welfare has been fertile soil for child abuse, neglect, homelessness, and crime. By strengthening the traditional family, requiring work in exchange for benefits, and bringing financial discipline to our current welfare system, we can change welfare from a system of hopelessness to one of hope, from a system of dependency to one of responsibility. We owe it to welfare recipients, their children, and society, to do no less.

Ms. MIKULSKI addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Maryland is recognized.